by the increasing current of modern ideas and development, have stimulated from within a desire to shake off the shackles of the old order. To some extent the old order is adapting itself to modern conditions, though there are still, for instance, diehard conservatives among the church party, who, fearful for the disappearance of their power and prestige, cling to a bigotry which refuses recognition to any innovations. While the reactionaries among this class offer a problem to the progressive elements in the country which time will probably solve, there are greater difficulties to be faced in contending with unruly elements among the tribesmen.

Many of these latter have, by emigration, secured sufficient wealth to acquire immovable property, have settled and allied themselves with the townsmen and property-owning Seiyids in a movement to promote peace and safety, but some of the great remainder who prefer a nomadic existence, cling to ancestral habits of raiding, take by force what they cannot buy, or live on blackmail paid by the harassed landed classes to secure immunity. Even the honest carrier is apt to show a more than passive resistance when he fears that the increasing motor transport will deprive himself and his camel of their daily bread.

The surprising modern developments in the Kathīri dominions owe their inception mainly to private enterprise, but in the Qu'aiti state there is superimposed over the curious diversity of social conditions a Government which attempts a compromise between the methods of the west, probably borrowed mostly from Indian contacts, and indigenous institutions.

During the last few years the Hadhramaut has become increasingly known to Europeans. A number of travellers, official and otherwise, have visited the country since the war, and, owing to the Royal Air Force and to an increase of Political staff regular and more frequent contact has been established. A landing-ground at Shibam makes the interior easy of access, for it is now less than five hours from Aden. The appearance of Royal Air Force visitors has largely increased the number of Europeans seen in the main Wadi, so that the large towns there, scarcely visited till a few years ago, seem on the way to becoming, as it were, tourist centres. The Navy, too, play an important part in the dissemination of good will and friendship by their visits to Mukalla. Apart from this the constant emigration of Hadhramis to other countries has meant an increasing infiltration of western ideas. The age-long seclusion of the country has gone, and though outside the towns conditions of life are, for the most part, still primitive, the Hadhramaut appears to be changing almost despite itself.

The main problems to be faced in the Hadhramaut are the establishment of friendly relations between the Qu'aiti and Kathīri on a basis of mutual trust and co-operation, and the stabilization of Qu'aiti and Kathīri rule in their respective countries. I could not help the conclusion that many of the things which the Qu'aiti

[Western Protectorate]

565 Most of them are nomads moving over their areas
221 in search of water and fodder for their animals. They are of con-
182 siderable economic importance in the life of the country, as the
463 carrying trade is in their hands. They have a reputation for main-
577 taining their agreements wth their neighbours and never violating a pledged agreement. If an individual makes any undertaking on behalf of his section or family, his people fulfil it: "He who seeks refuge with them, though he may be a murderer, is sheltered and not surrendered even if they fight in his cause."

628 If a man is killed in war, his kinsmen take retaliation for him.
682 A man who has slain many is regarded as a debtor and his debts are payable, life for life, by the lives of any of his tribe. If a man kills another in peace time, the debt can only be paid by his own death or by that of one of his kinsfolk. If it is not thus liquidated, a feud starts between the murderer and his kinsfolk and the kinsfolk of the murdered man. The violation of an undertaking is a charge on the whole trbe, and if they do not associate themselves with the violation they must force the violator to prove his innocence [685] or rise against him. Loots are settled by the payment of goods or cash to the value of the loot taken, but claims for blood are never paid. "You may at this day find a grandson, whose father had died before the claim was settled by retaliation, making a claim for the blood of his grandfather killed forty years before."

411 It is worth remarking that there appear to be fewer firearms
531 in the eastern part of the Protectorate than there are in the western. There also seem to be many less modern weapons. It is possible that many of the firearms are more effective than they appear to be, as the Hadhrami decorates his weapon more than his western neighbour does, and fixes on to the butt a rounded piece of wood, sometimes covered with skin. These features make the rifle more reminiscent of the old matchlocks.

Townsmen.

565 The townsmen of the Hadhramaut are derived principally from
162 80 families who migrated from 'Iraq with Seiyid Ahmed bin 'Isa,
[173] and the following are the principal families.

In Tarim: Āl bin Diyāb, head of the family, Ahmed 'Ali bin Diyāb; number of the members of the family said to be important, 30, total, 50. Āl Dahruj, head, 'Ubeidillah; important members, 40, total, 100. Āl 'Ubeid Yamāni, head, Sa'id Heimid; important members, 200, total, 1,000. Āl Bā Hamāla, head, 'Ali Sa'id; important members, 50, total, 60. Āl Bā Sunbōl; important members, 60, total, 120. Āl Bā Sabih, head, Mubarek 'Ubeid Bā Salih; important members, 50, total, 100.

In Seiyun: Āl Bā Shagheiwan, head, Hadi Salih; important members, 20, total, 60, Sa'id 'Abdulla; one important member, total, 14. Bā Fadhl; important members, 5, total, 30. Bā Baja; important members, 15, total, 120. Āl Hasan; important members, 40, total, 90.

[The Hadhramaut tribesmen --Analyst]

year, without considering special expenditure. It is fortunate that these families give attention to the affairs of Government and have been able to help to place the administration of the town of Tarim, for example, on a business footing. The families include men of considerable wealth who have made fortunes in Singapore where they own a lot of property acquired and developed in two generations. The Al Kaf family, who, by the way, are mostly British subjects, pay (I give the figure from memory) 120,000 Straits dollars a year in taxation in Singapore, and Seiyid 'Abdur Rahman, the head of the family, is a Justice of the Peace.

But it is not only among the wealthiest members of the community that there are signs of a growing desire for peace and progress. I have recorded elsewhere that, as well as in Qu'aiti territory, there are tribesmen of the Shenafir who have expressed a desire for settled administration and stated their willingness to pay taxes. As a whole the Kathīri people are the most wealthy of the inhabitants of the Hadhramaut. Their wealth is very largely derived from the East Indies, and principally from the Dutch colonies; but, as will be seen in the part of this report dealing with emigration, the Hadhrami wherever he settles is always a Hadhrami, and he looks on his beloved valley as a home to which he wishes to return. Abroad under a British or Dutch aegis he acquires a taste for peace and security. The money he makes he sends home, and, as stated elsewhere, the amount remitted from the East Indies is about seven lakhs of rupees a month. Once he has acquired property he ceases to be a Beduin with nothing to lose and becomes a landed proprietor with a large and expensive residence which he does not wish to see destroyed.

I have said that the Qu'aiti need guidance in their very creditable schemes of progress, the Kathīri want it in order to achieve peace and security.

CHAPTER XII.

QU'AITI-KATHĪRI RELATIONS.

Between Qu'aiti and Kathīri there is, unhappily, profound mistrust. This, however, can be well understood when the history of the country is understood, and when it is remembered that old hates in the East generally remain fresh long after the events which gave rise to them have passed. The Kathīri, not unnaturally, has cherished a grudge against the people who deprived him of what was once his country. The Qu'aiti retains a fear that he may yet lose what he has so hardly won. He realizes no doubt that except for British backing, which has sometimes been erratic in its application, it might well be possible for the Kathīris, original owners of the country, to call to their aid the other indigenous people of the Hadhramaut, including their old allies, and drive out the invader. The Qu'aiti also cherishes, perhaps, the hate that one party often bears towards the party it has wronged.

578 182 These sentiments I believe to be at the back of the unsatisfactory state of affairs between the two parties. They became accentuated by the Kathīris losing a seaport. Once they became land-locked, they felt themselves even more at the mercy of those who control the ways in and out of the country. The Qu'aitis, on their side, felt that with the seaports they could prevent the Kathīris from again becoming a menace. The inevitable result of this policy on the part of the Qu'aitis was intensified dissatisfaction and resentment on the part of the Kathīris.

185 661 648 Some 20 or 25 years ago they came to the conclusion that the state of affairs could no longer be borne. It was resulting in a neglected condition of the country and increased anarchy in the interior. All the revenue went into the pockets of the authority holding the seaports, and nothing was done in the way of improvements to the roads or to the development of the country. At this time there was little or no intercourse between the British and the Kathīri. The Qu'aiti had long been under British protection and had proved a loyal and faithful friend. Not unnaturally he was given support and in the usual way dealings with a tribe not in treaty relations were eschewed. Nevertheless the Kathīri would have preferred British assistance. As it was not forthcoming it is said that at different times he made advances to other powers, and the Turks, Dutch, Italians and French have been mentioned to me.

648 In due course we began to take an interest in the matter, and finally the Qu'aiti-Kathīri agreement of 1918 was negotiated with the approval of His Majesty's Government. I do not propose to comment on this treaty (which is reproduced for convenience sake in an appendix) except to say that it seems to me admirable in its sentiments, particularly in its requiring the parties to co-operate in measures for the common benefit of the Hadhramaut. As far as the British Government was concerned its effect was to bring the Kathīris under British protection through the medium of the Protectorate treaty with the Qu'aitis. It also provides for the settlement of disputes between the two parties by the British. If the treaty could have been fulfilled in letter and spirit, all would have been well.

Apart from the fact that the Qu'aiti had been a loyal friend to the British, and that it would on that ground have been a mistake to upset his paramount authority in the Hadhramaut, any arrangement which set up two independent authorities in the Hadhramaut would be a mistake. The evil consequences of splitting up a country by means of separate treaties sought or granted on insufficient information are well exemplified in the case of Upper Yafa'. The Hadhramaut is economically and geographically a single unit, and its prosperity depends on the fullest co-operation between the party that controls the ports and the party that is paramount in the 000 interior. It has often been said that co-operation of this sort is not in the Arab genius, but economic forces are often more potent

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

tribe who are now very weak, though the wadi is still called after them Wadi Hajr Bin Daghār. To-day the wadi belongs to the Qu'aiti and it is said that in time it will be known as Wadi Hajr Qu'aiti.

The capital of the province is now Kanina, said to have about 300 to 400 houses and an estimated population of 1,500. Other important villages are Yuwan, the old capital, As Sadaka, Husn Bā Suleiman, Husn Ba'ba', Al 'Asala, Al Qima, Al Hussein, Husun Bā Raghab, Jōl Bā Hāwa, Leswa and Muhrin. The Governor is Sa'id Marzuk Salah. Hajr is an agricultural province, and it is estimated that the number of tribesmen is 5,000. As I did not visit the Hajr province during my tour, the information given is even more at second hand than in other cases.

The tribes living in the province or dependent on it are the Bin Daghār, Nūwah, Āl Deiyeb, Āl Bā Bekr and Āl Zaghīb, Āl Bā Hanaf Āl al 'Ajaz al Mushafir, Āl Khāshia al Murqashi. The following is a description of these tribes together with others connected with Hajr.

NŪWAH.

Clan.	*Section.*	*Sub-section.*	*Places.*	*Nos.*
Nūwah Hajr ...	Āl Bā Rashid	—	Al Qeima, Libna	400
	Āl Bā Sheiba	—	Libna	150
	Āl Bā Shuqūr	—	—	80
	'Ayāl Sa'd	—	—	—
	Āl Bā Hajām	—	—	40
	Āl Bā Sa'd	—	—	—
	Āl Bā Faqqās	—	Qazein, Yuwan	200
	Āl Bā Dubīān	Āl Bā Sabera	Jōl Bā Hāwa, Al Qāsima, Yuwan, Muhammada, Kanina.	400
	Āl Bā Mas'ud	—	—	—
	Āl Bā Dabeis		Yuwan	100
	As Sumahi		do.	—
	Āl Bā Sara		do.	—
	Āl Bā Qarwān	—	Muhammada	250
	Āl Bā Rajāsh	—	Kanina, Sherij Bā Jamum, Husun Āl Bā Rajāsh.	400
	Bā Museita		—	100
Nūwah Du'an	Āl Bā Hakīm	—	Al Qarn	100
	Āl Bā Sam	—	—	120
	Āl Bā Khamīs	—	—	100
	Āl Bā Ma'as	—	—	150
	Bu Sa'd	—	—	—
	Bā Safr	—	—	50
	Āl Bā Shihab	—	—	—
Nūwah Lajrāt Du'an.	Āl Bā Batīn	—	—	70
	Āl Bā Sūeid	—	—	50
	Āl 'Afif	—	—	—
	Āl Bā Meis	—	—	—
				2,760

6: Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

in those tribes where the rule of public opinion under a figurehead, who nevertheless can influence that opinion, approaches so much to a child's picture of our own. That problem I leave to the administrators.

Confederations under hereditary Chiefs in the Protectorate are in all cases in process of disintegration. It is, as one might expect, most marked on the borders of the confederations. As an instance, the tribes of Dathina belong properly to the 'Aulaqi Confederation. So do the Thula' tribes. We find, however, that to-day the 'Aulaqi Sultan of Nisab, who should be the head of the Upper Confederation of tribes, is reluctant to claim his headship over Dathina, and because of his reluctance the 'Thula' tribes, led by the Shamsi, have defied the authority of the Sultan and have closed the important road through their country to try and force the Sultan to assert himself. Land ownership in Dathina is almost more complicated than in most places in the Protectorate.

As a general rule a man may sell his land within the tribe. To sell land outside the tribe, the general consent of the whole tribe is necessary. It is particularly on tribal borders that one finds the land in the possession of Raya, non-tribesman class, peasant farmers, who work the land for wages. Where these farm land for a saint their position is fairly protected, but where their land lies on a disputed boundary and is the property of one of the disputants, their position is uncomfortable in the extreme. They are frequently pressed both by bribes and threats to affirm and change their landlord, and their position is the cause of endless argument and feud. As an instance, the land in Wadi Tuwana belongs to the Seyyids of Jebel Dhubiyat, who pay certain taxes for the overlordship of the Jebel to the Amir of Dhala'. The Seyyids have also a treaty with the Qateibi tribe to protect their lands in Tuwana, and the Qateibis dispute the right of the Amir to take any taxes at all from the Seyyids, who, they declare, should be tax free because of their holiness. If the Amir sends troops or envoys to Tuwana the Qateibis at once move there also, and a strained situation results. It results on the only motor-track between Aden and Dhala', which is used by the Amir and not by the Qateibis, who also thrive on strained situations, while the Amir does not. As a consequence, the Raya of Tuwana are practically independent and all tribal boundaries in the area are permanently in dispute. This situation is fairly typical of all inter-tribal boundaries in the territory, while in some parts these may be complicated by water problems as well. In the absence of courts which can uphold their judgments, I can see only a continued disintegration of the confederations from their borders towards their centres.

I do not favour the flashlight anthropological view whereby a people is shown at one moment of time and no trouble is taken to find out how they have reached their present stage of civilization or whether they are on the up or down grade. It is clear that these confederations are on the down grade and have been so for many centuries, ever since the kingdoms broke up, which in itself was doubtless a slow process. A main contributory cause of their disintegration is the blood fued, and there is little doubt that the grave social condition which has been reached in much of the territory comes from the uncheckable expansion of these feuds due to

182 628 411 436 [792] 182 671 576 183 the flood of precision rifles which has entered the territory in the last quarter of a century. In particular, the introduction of the cheap Le Gras carbine, selling at the price of four goats, wrought untold harm. Ease of killing and the extreme danger in which most of the people now live has resulted in the breaking down of tribal custom. In a certain blood feud within the tribe of Ma'an killing by treachery became the rule some years ago on both sides of the feud. Men were killed, in direct contravention of tribal custom, when they were being escorted by the killers and by Seyyids or holy men. The breaking of tribal custom may seem a small thing to those who have not made a study of tribal life. To assess the gravity of its breach one must enquire into its purpose.

Tribal custom is a code of life and behaviour. It lays down modes of greeting, which are stereotyped verbal approaches to understanding and friendship. It lays down laws for eating and drinking and for all the functions of life. It ensures honesty in public dealing and in private relationships. It gives rules of procedure for tribal conferences, for the entertainment of visitors and the protection of fugitives, the poor and the weak. In a primitive community it is the cement with which the community is bound together. When individuals can break tribal custom without punishment the last security for the community has gone and chaos is only a matter of time. When the breach occurs in the very centre of a confederation, as it has in Ma'an, the final disintegration of the confederation as a social unit cannot be far ahead. The confederations will break naturally into warring tribes, as has happened in Dathina. The disintegration of the tribes would follow were the feuds to remain unchecked.

182 643 728 671 [625] I have covered in the main the social organization of the tribes into their confederations and have shown the course which these confederations are following, a process of disintegration which began, no doubt, in about the third century of our era. In those districts under the rule of Suzerains social collapse has been halted by autocratic rule. This rule enforces peace by stopping the feuds and by supporting Sharia' courts, whose judgments, though often unfair, are at least upheld by the autocrat's police forces. Such tribes are, moreover, simple to deal with, as the government is vested in one man with an educated point of view. Whether or not the autocrat is essential for progress towards self-rule is a controversial matter into which it is not my province to enter.

[643] 000 In reply to a question as to whether the kings were killed off when they reached old age, Major Hamilton said no; they had reached a stage when nobody was sacrificed for them. In Uganda the King, when he was crowned, held a spear in his hand and two men stood with him, one the Prime Minister and the other a low-class individual. The King touched the Prime Minister with the spear, and the Prime Minister touched the other man with the spear. Before Stanley's advent, the King pricked the Prime Minister with the spear and then turned round and killed the other man. That was the sacrifice in place of himself or his father or whoever came before. As far as was known, by 700 B.C. there was no more sacrifice of kings in the Yamen, but there must have been before then.

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

Haswein, and Heila, entirely by the people themselves, and most of the seventeen landing-grounds in the country are now in frequent use by the Royal Air Force. It is interesting to note that many of these landing-grounds were built on the initiative of the local people, and all the new ones were voluntarily constructed by them at no expense to Government. The Sei'ar, the Badawin 'Awamir in the north and one or two others have asked for landing-grounds to be made so that they may be visited.

Hitherto communication with the Hadhramaut has been by irregular calls of ships at Mukalla and Shihr, but now there is a weekly commercial air service maintained by Arabian Airways from Aden to Mukalla and Seiyun. There was previously no postal service but now there is a post office at Mukalla and five postal agencies at the principal centres of Shihr, Tarim, Seiyun, Shibam and Du'an. There was no wireless communication, but now there is a commercial service with Mukalla and Government stations at Seiyun and Al 'Abr, and another in contemplation.

Remarkable as these improvements in communication are they do not yet fulfil all the needs of the country, for it is over 60,000 square miles in extent with a population of only about 300,000, of whom perhaps 50,000 dwell on the coastal area and 100,000 in the comparatively fertile wadi lands of the interior, while the rest are Badawin or scattered in more remote settlements where the soil allows the production of a modest living. This wide area, rather larger than England and Wales, has now been all seen, at any rate from the air, though of course not all has been visited on the ground and there are still wide and very desolate areas which have yet to be trodden.

The areas that offer most scope for development and on the development of which the prosperity of the whole country must depend are, of course, the coast and the Wadi Hadhramaut system itself. As in all tropical countries agriculture must be the basis of the modest natural wealth of the country, and the area that offers most scope is the Wadi Hadhramaut and its dependent wadis, principally that part of the wadi between Henin and Qa'udha on the west and As Som on the east, with the Wadis Du'an and Leisar, 'Amd, Bin 'Ali, Al 'Ain, Tarba, and 'Adim, running into it from the south. Generally speaking little cultivation is attempted in the wadis from the north.

The outlook of the coast, dominated by Mukalla and Shihr, is chiefly commercial and maritime. Those who do not depend on trade go down to the sea either in the dhows or as fishermen, though there is a certain amount of agriculture and the most important areas are Meifa and Ghail Ba Wazir. From the development point of view the Hadhramaut is fortunate in possessing a balanced population and one that has shown itself enterprising in the making of money abroad. It is the general belief of responsible local opinion that many of the 100,000 Hadhramis who live abroad will return, now that there is security and the prospect of finding a living in a country which, more than many peoples with the emigrating habit, they always regard as home. In a balanced population there are classes which fit into every phase of the cultural and economic structure of society, and the obvious basis of development will do nothing to upset the existing structure but simply give it extended scope. In areas inhabited only by tribesmen development must be difficult and slow, for there are many occupations

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

in which tribesmen will not willingly engage, and as they are so conservative it will be long before they forsake their ancient occupation (or lack of occupation) and adjust themselves to fresh possibilities.

In the Hadhramaut however if the main producing area is to be the main wadi system, there is there a population which is already largely agriculturally minded. Shibam is chiefly a commercial centre, the principal market of the interior, but outside Shibam and throughout the other towns of the wadi the atmosphere is rural and people are largely land owners or workers on the land. In addition the tribes have become settled and it is interesting to note that most of them have settled in *badu* sections. Those tribes living in the great wadi are settled, but they have relations in the barren areas who are Badawin. If it becomes possible not only to make the country more self-supporting as regards its own food supplies, but also to produce something for export, it will benefit not only the growers but also the Badawin living between the coast and the wadi, for at present they have to take their camels back to the coast unloaded, since the Hadhramaut only consumes. Recently we forwarded samples of cotton and castor oil seed, which grow practically wild in the Hadhramaut without irrigation, to the Imperial Institute for examination and the reports were most favourable. This is not to say, of course, that their cultivation can be profitably undertaken without much further investigation and some experiments, but they are two possible lines of development, and now that an Agricultural Officer is being appointed new crops for systematic cultivation may be found. Water is of course the chief need, but that also we hope to investigate and there is every indication that there should be plenty of it in the areas most fit for agricultural development.

Mukalla is the political and commercial capital of the whole country. Here the Qu'aiti Sultan lives, and it is the headquarters of the Mukalla Government, and my own headquarters as Resident Adviser to His Highness and as the officer responsible to the Governor of the Aden Protectorate for political relations with the five easternmost Sultanates of the Protectorate. Mukalla is the one place that most of the several hundreds of visitors have seen. It is the most important port on the south coast of Arabia between Aden and Muscat, but somehow does not yet seem to have left the category of places which travellers take for granted, perhaps because until my wife and I took up our abode there had never been permanent European residents. In the last few months the European residents have risen to six, and though the place looks very much the same to us as it has always done, visitors say it is changing. A ship's captain who landed a short time ago asked in the bazaar how it was that port facilities had improved and how it was that the town looked cleaner. I believe the most enduring memory of Mukalla to people who have landed has been the stupendous fly population and the smells of dried fish and other even less pleasant substances. I would not go so far as to say that the flies and the smells have disappeared, but a recently trained local sanitary inspector with a corps of sweepers and sanitary dustbins have made some difference.

The climate of Mukalla is on the whole pleasant enough, and with the gradual cleaning up of the town healthy enough. Steps are now being taken to cope with the mosquito nuisance, for last year we had a particularly bad

75 per cent in Shuqra. In most localities, the infection rates ranged from 27 to 88 per cent among children under 15 years of age and from zero to 48 per cent in persons over 15 years of age. The Fadhli and the Abdali tribal districts were the most seriously affected regions visited. H 164 659

Diseases of the Skin. Favus, ringworm and other mycotic skin infections are widely distributed. Madura foot is common in the Protectorate, and cases are seen in the Colony hospitals each year among patients from the interior. Phagedenic ulcers are responsible for considerable disability among laborers in the Colony and in all parts of the Protectorate. Several thousand cases are treated each year in the hospitals and the dispensaries in Aden Colony, where they are usually designated as "Yemen ulcers." The ankle is the most frequent site of infection, and amputation is often necessary in neglected cases. A H 164 167 A 758

Scabies and impetigo are prevalent, especially among the children of inland towns and villages who live under congested, insanitary conditions. By contrast, surprisingly few cases of scabies are encountered among the children seen in the schools in Aden township. A H 164 511 515

Leprosy. Leprosy is endemic in the Protectorate, but no indigenous cases have been reported from the Colony within recent years. The infection is probably not extensive, although foci of the disease are known to exist in the Hadhramaut and in the Lahej, the Dhala' and the Abyen areas in the western protectorate. As lepers are not discriminated against socially, some difficulty is encountered in controlling the movement of infected individuals in the Colony. A small leper hospital is located at Sheikh Othman: it receives patients not only from Aden territory but also from Yemen. Eighteen of the 29 patients in residence in 1939[18] were open nodular or lepromatous cases. A H 164 A H 743 164 183

Other Infections. Tetanus is endemic, but reported cases are rare. A H 164

p. 249 (A)